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stew," which has continued current from the time of its publication by St. John until today.[48] Yet African religious practices were being constantly combated by the Catholic Church, for even in the period of revolt the priests had remained largely unharmed, and when Christophe was elevated to the throne, he appointed two archbishops. After the establishment of the Republic, Catholicism continued as the State religion, so that by the early nineteenth century, as Mackenzie mentions, thirty-eight clergy were active in Haiti, all under the control of the Bishop of Santo Domingo, and all presumably nominated and paid by the President of Haiti.[49] Though for a period there was an attempt to develop a national Church, the missionary work done during the colonial days left too strong a tradition of Catholicism to be overcome, and consequently a Concordat was signed with Rome in 1860, which has remained in effect ever since.[50]

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Though the story of the cultural history of Haiti between 1804 and the present cannot thus be more than sketched, yet the background is known, and enough can be gathered from accounts of Haitian life during this interval to enable us to see that the varied cultural impulses were shaping the lives of the people throughout these years. With some understanding of the roots of the resulting culture in French and African traditions, then, let us once more turn to the valley of Mirebalais and consider the life of the Haitian peasant as it is lived today.

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the voduists this is not regarded as decisive proof of the power of Protestantism, for those immediately concerned it is held sufficient."[9]

What, then, of the attitudes held by voduists toward the Catholic Church? The correlation of Catholic ritual with *vodun* practice made by Haitians is of utmost significance in this connection. In discussing the Church service, it was pointed out that church bells announce mass or any other rite, and this, it was explained, is for Legba—"*Toute cloche c'est pou' Legba, même l'église, oui*—All sounding of bells is for Legba, even in church," for he must be notified so that he can "open the gate" for God, Jesus Christ, and the saints. "*Nou' même nou' connaî' ça. C'est Bon Dieu crée tout*—You yourself know that. It is God who created everything." It was also recounted how when the priest preaches, he is possessed by the *mystères* of the sacred Trinity, for does he not gesticulate and become excited like any other possessed person?

Furthermore, it is believed that Gede, Ogun, and Damballa "are always at the church," often insisting that their worshippers take communion. Indeed, occasionally the *loa* of a woman may demand a Church marriage from a man to whom she is a *placée*. The sacraments of baptism, first communion, marriage, confession, and extreme unction are received by members of the *vodun* cult, though, as will be seen, when voduists confess, they say nothing of their *loa*. The *hungans* themselves "are most often at the sacred table to take communion," and one particular *hungan* not only attended mass, but was seen continually employing his rosary in the *vodun* ceremonies at which he officiated. While Haitians from the southern peninsula stated that the *hungans* there do not go to church, it was pointed out at the same time that all other voduists attend regularly.

The principal resentment held by Mirebalais voduists against the Church is for the cost of Church rites, and for the

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refusal to accord Church burial to certain faithful followers because of the inability of their surviving relations to pay for their funeral masses. As expressed most clearly, it is felt that the Church is expensive, exacting fees for baptisms, marriage ceremonies, and funerals, while *vodun* worship, on the other hand, costs but little: a bit of *clairin*, the animals one must sacrifice — only, however, to insure the help of the *loa* in causing the remaining ones to increase in number — and the "presents" to be given the gods, costs the less oppressive because they are usually shared by all members of one's family. Another source of discontent is said to be the failure of the Church to adhere to its agreement in the Concordat to "Haitianize" the clergy. This has been emphasized in Mirebalais because the priest of its church is one of the relatively few in Haiti who is himself a Haitian. One of the sentiments about the Church most frequently heard during this field-work, coming as it did just at the end of the American occupation, was: "The *Garde* has finally been Haitianized. Now it is the turn of the Church."

The attitude of the Church toward *vodun* is one of intransigent hostility. The anger with which the priest preached his sermon on the Sunday morning following a *vodun* dance held close enough to town so that the sound of the drums, plainly audible, "disturbed" him the night long, clearly indicates how deeply the priests of the Church resent the worship of the African gods. In Mirebalais they tell how, at the instance of the Church, *vodun* rites were unmercifully suppressed by the Americans during the occupation, to whom it was represented as a potential focus for revolt. In the *place* huge bonfires were made of *vodun* drums painted and "dressed" in elaborate manner. Everything found in the *humfo*fts and the private houses of worship was confiscated, and the "thunder stones," necklaces of the devotees, and other sacred objects that would not burn were thrown into the Artibonite River. Today the Church takes full advantage

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of its status as the only recognized religious organization in Haiti to dictate the official position of government toward *vodun*. Permission for *vodun* dances and for *services* must be obtained from the officer commanding the local detachment of the Garde d'Haiti, and this is not always granted. Penalties for illicit dances and ceremonies are severe, and because gossip is ubiquitous and no man lacks enemies, apprehension is prompt. Thus in the instance of one *service*, a misunderstanding regarding the permit was sufficient to cause the detention for some hours of the one responsible for the rite.

Is it possible, then, for a person to be a communicant of the Church and partake of the sacrament without feeling this weight of spiritual and official disapprobation? More particularly, is it possible for him to omit from his confession all allusion to his worship of "false" gods? It is here that one encounters a singularly tenacious survival of African traditional belief. In Africa the conquest of one people by another meant the mutual interchange and acceptance of the respective deities. The conquerors added to their own pantheons the gods of those whom they had overcome so that these forces might not wreak a supernatural vengeance upon them; while to the conquered the power of the gods of those who had defeated them was self-evident. If the worship of the Christian God and of the saints of the Church intruded on the aboriginal religious patterns of the Negroes brought to Haiti, the acceptance of such worship did not imply rejection of the old gods. Nor does membership in the Church today mean such complete acquiescence in its doctrines and pronouncements that the worshipper of the *loa* will offer himself for the malediction of the priest by confessing his adherence to their cult. The situation somewhat parallels that in Africa itself, where the first effort of Protestant missionaries is directed toward inducing their converts to abjure polygyny. This dictum is complied with readily enough on the surface, so that a man will have but one wife — in one village! In Haiti the